1: Burrows--147-149 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-4
116, 681, 231 Ifalik

"Specific observations on misconduct and its punishment are almost entiely lacking. The only misdemeanors that became public knowledge during our stay on the atoll were committed by four dogs and one madman. None of these cases represents normal relationships among human beings. Such as it is, though, this evidence is of such a valuable kind that it seems advisable to examine it in detail.

The four dogs bit human beings. The penalty for that is death. In three of the cases it was promptly imposed.

Treatment of dogs in general is capricious. They are sometimes fondled, sometimes ignored, sometimes teased in ways that seemed to us cruel. This teasing may furnish one outlet for the aggression which, under the general rule of courtesy, can hardly be discharged overtly against human beings.

In the first case it seemed to us that the dog had ample provocation to [148] bite. Tom, too--whose views may have been affected by exposure to other customs in his travels--grumbled when dog-bites began to assume the proportions of a crime wave. He held that people (boys, I think he said) ought to be made to leave the dogs alone. Otherwise there would soon be no dogs left. A dog is like a man, Tom went on. If it is mistreated, it wants to fight.

The first instance can perhaps be best described by another quotation from the journal:

August 30. The small boys of this neighborhood killed a dog this morning. He was the biggest dog on the island. . .He used to chase all other male dogs away. The last

few days there had been much copulation between him and a bitch. A very noisy business, with yelping and a kind of bawling that he also uses when attacking another male. The yelping comes from the bitch, perhaps only in the painful process of disengaging. With the cruelty toward dogs which we have noticed among the boys, there had been some stone throwing and other teasing along with all this.

This morning our boys told us this dog had bitten a man, so that it drew blood. (Probably the man had asked for it.) The dog came around and hung about us all through breakfast, in hopes; as he often does at mealtime. He was gentle and friendly, as always with us; unlike his mate of the last few days, who is apt to bark at us whenever we go far from our tent.

The boys seem to have passed a death sentence on the dog. Talimeira said to it, in some of his newly acquired English, 'Bimeby you die.' Mel told the dog to stick around with us, and he seemed to get the idea; he did it for a while. He knew the boys were after him. They all had sticks and stones. He took refuge between two canoes in the canoe-house, but there they could hit him with sticks. He ran away, with them in noisy pursuit, and we heard howls and yelps.

Nest thing we saw was the dog swimming out in the lagoon. Uveli went out in a canoe and herded the dog away from shore. I could see his head, far out. . . . More canoes went out later, and apparently kept him from coming ashore.

Toward noon the boys came by. When we asked what had happened to the dog, they

said he drowned in the lagoon.

The nominal owner of this dog had gone to Faraulep. Perhaps that was why the boys took the law in their own hands. They seemed to have a lot of fun. Nobody objected, except ourselves; and we did not try to insist, because our business there was to observe custom, not reform it.

The next time, a dog bit a small boy, I do not know on what provocation. Its owner and other men of the household took it into the woods, killed it, and, we were told, ate it.

The third time, a bitch with pups, that I had previously noticed as extremely irritable, attacked and bit Spiro. This time there was no more provocation than his unusual appearance, as compared with the natives, when he passed near where the animal lived.

Mayhem committed against the foreigner who was the guest of the [149] chiefs, and in some sense a representative of the high authority of the United States, made this nothing less than an international incident. So this time the chiefs took a hand. Wolpetau and WolpaitIk, the chiefs in charge of Falālap, where the offense was committed, went in person and saw to it that the dog was put to death. Everybody, particularly the chiefs, the people of Falālap, and the Americans, were agitated about this for some time; the chiefs and people of Falālap because it seemed to threaten the good feeling that prevailed between them and the Americans; the Americans because, if the wound had become

infected, with no medical aid available and no way to summon it, the danger would have been serious. (Luckily, the wound healed cleanly.) Some time later, when I passed a house platform on Falālap, a woman called to me reassuringly 'No dogs!' Again, when a dog barked at me there, a man in the canoe-house nearby roused from his revery to call it off.

The fourth offense was committed against Maroligar by the dog of his colleague Toromann. He was playing with it and fondling it when it bit his hand. They were in sight of me, and this time I saw no teasing or cruelty. Maroligar, one of the gentlest and most courteous of this courteous people, insisted that the matter be overlooked."

2: Damm et al. --192 [7] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 681 Faraulep

If fines cannot be collected, the creditor appropriates an equivalent sum from the debtor, but the chief must first be informed of this procedure.

4: Krämer--116 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 681 Lamotrek

Cantova, page 313, tells us that the severest punishment for criminals is exile.

The head chief has the right of imposing sentence unless the people themselves handle the affair.

4: Krämer--270 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 681 Woleai

The native, Kadu, tells us that criminals are not punished, but are sent into exile,

8: Senfft--283 (1905) 1906 Woleaians
116, 273, 625, 681 Woleai

The coconut stocks on Oleei were normal. Two years ago extermination measures were taken against the rat plague and by now the trouble has decreased considerably. Since the recall of the police post who was in charge of enforcing these measures nothing had been done and the natives had started once more to drink sour toddy. In a condition of complete drunkenness a native had first threatened a dealer with a long knife and then with a spear. The man was taken to Jap and later sentenced on that island. A rumor circulated that three years ago an Australian dealer, who was old and feeble and who had been working on Oleei for a Jap firm, had died an unnatural death. I started extensive investigations on the spot which really produced incriminating material. It seems that a Sonsol native attacked the dealer in his bed, made him unconscious by blows of a hammer and then strangled him. It is said that the housekeeper of the dealer --a fellow islander of the murderer--had been an accomplice to the crime. Other witnesses are said to exist on the islands of Lamutrik and Satuwal. The main witnesses needed for the trial had to be called and set out on the voyage. At the present time the two accused are on Palau.

In a general meeting I discussed everything of importance and informed the population that once more I would leave behind a policeman with far-reaching powers. Fines in the form of naturalia were imposed for neglect of the tree protection law directed against destruction by rats and for the consumption of sour toddy.

28: Spiro--17 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 622, 653, 681 Ifalik

"All public works are undertaken at the chiefs' behests. The building of overwater heads, at the request of the navy; the removal of trash from the courtyards, the cleaning of the bush and public paths, the repair of a canoe-house, the initiative for all these is the responsibility of the chiefs, without whose orders they would not be done.

But his responsibilities do not end with public works or communal economics. Should a private house need repair, or a courtyard be dirty, should a man be indolent or a woman not take care of her taro patch, the chiefs will step in, and order this situation be rectified. Again, this is not viewed as a curtailment of freedom, or as an encroachment on individual rights, for this is part of the chief's responsibilities, the neglect of which, would lead to censure on the part of his people.

Other economic activities, though not initiated by the chiefs, require their permission All construction that requires the cooperation of a number of men, such as a house or an ocean-going canoe cannot be undertaken without first receiving the consent of the chiefs."

28: Spiro--18 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 681, 622, 182, 554 Ifalik

"As in most primitive societies shame and social censureship are the greatest deterrants to immorality. This is particularly true on Ifaluk, where there are no supernatural sanctions. But the ultimate sanctions for moral behavior are the chiefs. It is their approval or disapproval that motivates much of the Ifalukian interpersonal relationships. And this role is felt very consciously by both the chiefs and the people. When discussing the subject of chieftanship, they informed me, that: 'Chief all same pappa this place.... If no chief, all same canoe have no people, canoe turn around. Place, too, by'n by turn around, people fight. Pappa talk to boy, maybe boy no like (i.e., won't obey), for only little bit afraid. But all people afraid chief. Chief work--talk. Chief no talk to people, tell them what they do, all same ship break.'

This is as accurate description of Ifaluk chieftanship as one could want. Besides this very interesting 'ship of state' idea, this statement displays a genuine insight into the real significance of the chiefs in this culture. That the statement reflects not only the chiefs conception of themselves, but also the conception the people have of them, is brought out clearly in the Stewart Emotional Response and Moral Ideology tests, in which the people maintain that they are afraid to be indolent, to steal, or to fight lest they incur the wrath of the chiefs; and conversely, that they are good, generous, etc., because this pleases the chiefs.

This role of being the ultimate sanctioners of the cultural values is very interesting in view of their lack of any punitive power. There are neither police nor prisons on Ifaluk to enforce the mores or punish violations of them. It is true that a murderer or incorrigible thief can be punished by the chiefs by banishment and/or confiscation of property, but such punitive powers must rest on the consent of the people, since they have no physical power to enforce these punishments. What is even more significant is the fact that the mere disapproval of some behavior by the chiefs acts as a sufficient deterrent, and that their approval is one of the strongest motivations for culturally approved behavior."

29: Spiro--197-199 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 681, 115 Ifalik-1 -6

"November 27, 1947. Yesterday was the climax to a series of events involving Tarev. Maroligar came by in the afternoon, saying that he had some work in Falalap, but that when he returned, he was going to tie Tarev. When I asked why he had so decided, he said that Tarev had tried to strike him with a pole, and this was the end of his patience. When he returned in the afternoon, he called for me, and we proceeded to Tarev's house. On our way, a young man came running to inform Maroligar that Tarev had just attempted to set fire to his house, but had been caught just in time. As we approached the courtyard, we saw that it was surrounded by a host of people, most of whom were afraid to approach the house. Inside the house, Tarev was struggling with two men who were trying to drag him out of the house. They finally succeeded in doing so, and when Maroligar approached him with a rope, Tarev surrendered himself to him without a word. He voluntarily extended his hands, and Maroligar tied his hands and feet. After he was tied, the men attempted to take him into the house, but he fell to [198] the ground. He began to shout at Maroligar, calling him a wicked man, saying that he was no chief for him and that he would not obey him. (The previous day, Tarev had insisted that he himself was chief.) Two other men took him inside the house, where they spoke with him kindly and patiently, explaining that they did not at all like what they had done, but that they had no alternative, since the people were afraid of him. Further, they explained to him that the people were good and wished him no harm. They also made sure that the rope was not too tight and that it did not pain him. I, also, explained to him that no one wished

him harm, and that when he returned to his nonaggressive state, they would release him.

A group of men remained outside, and as we were talking we heard signs of disturbance inside the house. Maroligar went inside and found that Tarev had untied himself and accused Maroligar and the people of mistreating him. When Maroligar tried to retie him, Tarev would not permit him to do so, but said he would permit Letar (one of the other men) to do so. Letar tied him in my presence, but Maroligar had to leave the house, because the mere sight of him made Tarev violent. (Bothe Maroligar and Tom are Tarev's uncles.)

I returned to Tarev's house in the evening, and was told that he had been peaceful, though he had been talking to himself again. Later at night, however, Maroligar came to ask me if it would be all right if they tied Tarev's hands behind his back so that he could not untie the rope again. Otherwise the women would be afraid to sleep. I returned with Maroligar to Tarev's house. He seemed to be sleeping, and his mother was sitting by his side. It was obvious that he could break loose if he desired to do so, and I told Maroligar that if they wished to tie him, I would have no objections. Maroligar called two other men to help him. By this time, Tarev had awakened, but he became violent at the very sight of Maroligar and though he permitted him to untie his hands, he would not permit him to retie him. He offered his hands to one of the other men, but when the latter attempted to tie his hands behind his back, Tarev resisted. He appealed to me,

but I tried to explain to him that this man (Mageleisei) was only doing what was best for everybody and harbored no ill will against him; and I asked him to cooperate. At this, he became meek as a child, lost all his aggressiveness, and permitted himself to be tied. When we left him, he was smiling and wished us a goodnight.

Today I had an interview with Tarev, but it was quite brief, since Tom clearly did not find these interviews of any use and was entirely uncooperative.

Q. Why did you try to fight yesterday?

A. It was nothing. I just did not like the talk of Maroligar and my mother. She said to me, 'Everything is fine now. You no longer have a wife, so you can do anything you want.'

Q. Why did you hit Maroligar?

A. I don't like what my mother says. I want to put a rope around my neck.

Q. Why did you fight Maroligar?

A. I don't want to fight. I took the stick so Maroligar and my mother would be afraid of me.

Q. Why do you want them to be afraid of you?

A. I don't do anything. But Maroligar and my family talk bad to me--day and night.

Q. What do they say?

A. They talk bad. I became angry and tried to hit Maroligar and my mother.

Q. But what do they say?

A. Many days and nights, now, they've been speaking bad. They talk too much.

Q. What do they say?

A. Maroligar comes and asks, 'What is Tarev doing?' The family says, 'He is doing so-and-so.' I don't like it.

Q. Why don't you like it?

A. Maroligar told my mother, 'Talk bad to Tarev.' My mother told me, 'Maroligar said that I should talk bad to you.'

Q. Do you still think that you are chief?

A. I never said that.

Q. Why don't you like Maroligar?

A. Maroligar says, 'You can't take those coconuts. If you want coconuts you've got to go to Falalap.'

Q. Why did you try to burn your house?

A. I don't like their talk. I burned the house so there would no longer be a house.

Q. How do you feel about having your hands tied?

A. I don't know. It's like being a dog or a pig. [199]

Q. Is that alus you told me about still inside you?

A. No. Maroligar and Arogeligar [the priest] gave me an alus.

Q. Why did they do that?
A. They gave me one alus.
Q. You don't like that alus?
A. No. I like my own alus. My alus likes to dance. I like that.
Q. What does the other alus do?
A. If it's a good alus, I like it. If it's bad, I don't like it.
Q. What does the other alus do?
A. He always wants to talk. Much of my talk is not my talk, it is the alus talking in me. (15)
Q. Yesterday you said that Maroligar and some other men tried to beat you. When did this happen?
A. They beat me, and I died.

"15. This he picked up from Maroligar. Whenever Tarev becomes violent and accuses people of aggressive and malicious designs on him, Maroligar tells him that it is not he but the alus in him that is talking."

Q. When?
A. I don't know. They want to kill me.
Q. Why do they want to do that?
A. I don't like that talk. I want to die. I don't like that talk.

When I rose to leave, Tarev asked if I would remove his rope. I explained that I could not do so, since the decision had to be made by his family."